The big money man who sits in Truman's lap

PAGE 3

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"Incredible Mismanagement"

Barnum and Bailey return to Washington as Atomic Energy Commission Chairman David Lilienthal (third from left) is "investigated" by Sen. Hickenlooper (leaning forward on table, right) for losing one-seventh oz. of uranium. ***See story, p. 5.***

Memorial Day Massacre—1949

By John T. McManus

MEMORIAL DAY news headlines told the story of "the first lynching of 1949," in Irwinton, Ga., last Monday.

The Irwinton lynching was not the year's first. The 1949 lynching season opened on Feb. 18—in Brooklyn. The killers were not an undisciplined mob. They were the N.Y. city police.

The victim was George Waddell, Negro, shot down in cold blood by two plainsclothes policemen in his own home before the eyes of his young wife and a group of neighbors.

Brooklyn's second lynching occurred last Monday night, May 31. The victim was 22-year old Herman Newton, Negro. A Brooklyn policeman, in civilian clothes and off duty, shot him in the back after a traffic altercation witnessed by his young wife and sister.

In each of the Brooklyn killings, the killers have been exonerated by their superiors.

Trenton, Va.

In Martinsville, Va., seven Negroes face death for an alleged rape — after arrests, forced confessions and mock trial precisely in the pattern of Trenton and of the Scottsboro case more than a decade earlier.

In Montgomery, Ala., two policemen have been freed after the rape of a Negro woman last March. Lawyers representing her were threatened with disbarment. A clergyman who befriended her was beaten by cops, jailed for assault.

In Houston, Texas, one Negro was dead from a police beating. A 77-year old Negro man was beaten for not hurrying to a back seat in a bus. Another Negro, walking into a police station bleeding from the forehead to report an assault by a bus driver, was taken into the back room, beaten to a pulp, and booked for assault.

In Philadelphia, a Negro errand boy was hauled to the home of a policeman off-duty and beaten unconscious because he could not reveal the name of another errand boy missing with the policeman's grocery order.

In Manhattan, a Puerto Rican boy of 15 was beaten by a public school custodian who called him a "black little Puerto Rican punk." The boy's offense: he was accused of calling another boy into the school lunchroom, where his "manual training assignment" was to scrub lunchroom tables.

Trigger happy

The Memorial Day killing got scant headlines in N.Y., none elsewhere.

Herman Newton, an unemployed laborer, was driving home in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn at about midnight Monday, May 30, with his wife Lottie, 28, and his sister Dorothy, 21. They had been visiting friends and had not been drinking. A car ahead came to a sudden stop. As Newton swerved around, avoiding a collision, he shouted at the other driver: "What kind of a way is that to stop?" The other driver got out of his car and so did Newton.

There were words. The two women tried to persuade Newton to get back into his car. Suddenly one of the women saw that the white man had a gun in his hand.

Argument settled

"Run, Herman," she shouted, "he's got a gun."

Newton ran down the block. The white man fired one shot. Newton dodged into a store entrance. A second shot hit him. He staggered out of the doorway and a few steps down the street. A third shot felled him. The women ran up to him.

"Don't worry," he whispered, "I'll be all right." Then he became unconscious and died without speaking again.

Identifying himself as a policeman, the assailant took the two women to a police station. Later, detectives produced a pen-knife which they said had been found "in the vicinity of the killing." The knife, which the two women themselves had turned over to police, was in the pocket of their car and had not been removed during the argument.

Herman Newton came to Brooklyn from Ridgeland, S.C., two years ago. He and Lottie were the parents of an 11-months-old girl.

Brooklyn's other police lynching, last February, occurred in the same Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood.

It was after supper and some of the neighbors had gathered in the living room of George and Doretta Waddell with their babies. They were talking, listening to the radio, playing whist. One of the men went out for beer. He got as far as the vestibule when two white men grabbed him. They forced him back into the Waddells' living room. George Waddell tried to intervene. The men started hitting him with blackjacks.

Waddell broke away and staggered toward the hall. One intruder pulled a gun. Mrs. Waddell screamed "Please don't shoot!" The man fired once, then twice more. Waddell died on his

(Continued on Page 12)

IN THIS ISSUE

	Page
Cedric Belfrage	12
Books and movies	10
China Special—Townsend	9
Dollar stretcher and food	10
Germany—Emil Carlebach	8
Inside Franco Spain	4
Letters to the editor	2
Jennings Perry	2
Progressive Party news	6
Radio report	11
Report to readers	11
Roundup of week's news	5-8
Max Werner	7
West Coast wire	5
Richard A. Yaffe	4

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THE MAILBAG

A psychiatrist on the Forrestal affair

NEW YORK, N. Y.

(From a distinguished psychiatrist who asked that his name be withheld).

The real tragedy of the Forrestal case is that the American people are being made subject to pacts, etc., which are the work of a paranoid. The whole Atlantic Pact is a paranoid idea.

During the war, in charge of a camp in the South, there was a general with delusions of a similar type—about possible disasters on the voyage to the Pacific on which he was to take his men. The men on the upper floor of the barracks were continually made to slide down ropes to the ground floor, as if escaping from a torpedoed ship; the men on the ground floor then had to throw buckets of water over them. Hailing from a peanut-producing state, the general so believed in the virtues of peanuts that he had every second footlocker filled with them as a precaution. The camp psychiatrist put in several orders for the general to be examined, which merely got as far as the general's desk. The psychiatrist was brave enough to take it over the general's head to Washington, and finally the general was ordered there for examination.

The difference between the cases of Forrestal and of the general was that Forrestal was in charge not merely of a camp, but of the entire defense establishment.

For the Navy and Army, the whole paranoid system of ideas which moved Forrestal is something **real** and not imaginary. If any doctor had seen the truth—that the whole business of defense pacts against the U.S.S.R. is crazy—he could not have told it and kept his job.

As for the repeated statements since Forrestal's suicide that he was a humble man and that his breakdown was due to overwork: There is not a humble person in the world who suffers from paranoid delusions; there is no such thing as mental disease resulting purely and simply from overwork.

•

About Miss Strong

ERWIN, TENN.

How about that series of articles on A. L. Strong you promised us? Please at least clear up the "why" they have never appeared. It's like when you promise candy to a kid: not so easy just to have him forget it.

Ernest Seeman

Miss Strong is now working "all my daylight hours," as she wrote us last week, on a book on China. After much thought and many other readers' letters, GUARDIAN decided no good purpose could be served in drawing out the controversy about her deportation from the U.S.S.R. In the absence of any official explanation from Moscow, neither she nor anyone else can offer more than speculations about the incident. We hope she will write for us on other subjects as soon as she has time.—Ed.

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You're not foolin' . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Headline in the newsletter of the American Legion:

FREEDOM STRONGER THAN ATOMIC WEAPONS, SAYS LOUIS JOHNSON AT LEGION CORNERSTONE LAYING.

All right, Louie, drop that gun!

J. T. M.

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Peace is indivisible

PARIS, FRANCE

As co-sponsors of the recent World Peace Congress we wish to thank you for the issue of May 2, devoted to excellent reportage of the Congress itself.

On Page 3 of this issue you asked if your readers "Like this issue?" in a small blurb saying that extra copies of this issue " . . . devoted to the **Europe** Peace Congress . . . " were available. (The emphasis is ours.)

We wish to call your attention to the fact that this Congress of World Partisans for Peace was exactly what its name implied: a Congress which was international; which received enthusiastic support from over 70 countries; whose supporters numbered over 600 million!

We believe the error on your part was most certainly unintentional but perhaps also a bit indicative of the trend of thought reflected today in the peace movement in the U.S.

Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier
Secretary General
Women's International Democratic Federation

We are delighted that Mme. Vaillant-Couturier liked the issue. The use of the word Europe was only to distinguish the coverage of the Paris Congress from the one held in New York—for which we also had a special issue. Perhaps it was poorly used. As for all of us on the GUARDIAN (and, we are sure, for all our readers) we say about peace: the more international the merrier. Ed.

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Religious department

ELMIRA, N.Y.

How about a department in the GUARDIAN devoted to what's happening on the progressive side of religion, to appear at regular intervals? A department devoted to religious comment, from such magazines as **The Churchman** and on the work of progressive ministers, will help us in our discussions with others who lean heavily on the churches in steering a path through these troubled times.

Harold Slingerland

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The real news

LAKELAND, FLA.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN is performing a valuable service and I don't want to miss a single copy. In my town there is only one paper and it is very conservative so I count on the GUARDIAN for the real news every week.

I sometimes despair of "churchianity," yet the church **ought** to be a powerful force in bringing about a better world. We must support those few courageous churchmen who have the vision beyond doctrinal creeds.

Jessica Price

Glad to be there

BALTIMORE, MD.

Enclosed one dollar to cover the cost of 40 issues. I would like to donate this subscription to the main reading room of the Johns Hopkins University.

Paschal Biagini

•

Job wanted

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I want to put an ad in your paper for a job. I want to connect with an employer who reads the GUARDIAN and whose mind is slanted exactly in the opposite direction to the mind of the employer I have now. Here's my ad:

YOUNG LADY. General office, dictaphone, hard worker, intelligent, good references. College, teaching experience. A little French and Spanish. Wishes employer with a progressive mind.

The GUARDIAN as yet takes no advertising, but is most sympathetic to "young lady's" plight. Our own list of job applicants is very long. We'd be glad to act as a go-between—this once.—Ed.

•

News of youth

LONG BEACH, L.I.

I do think that you should give some space to the Young Progressives of America, such as a weekly column.

Thomas Connor

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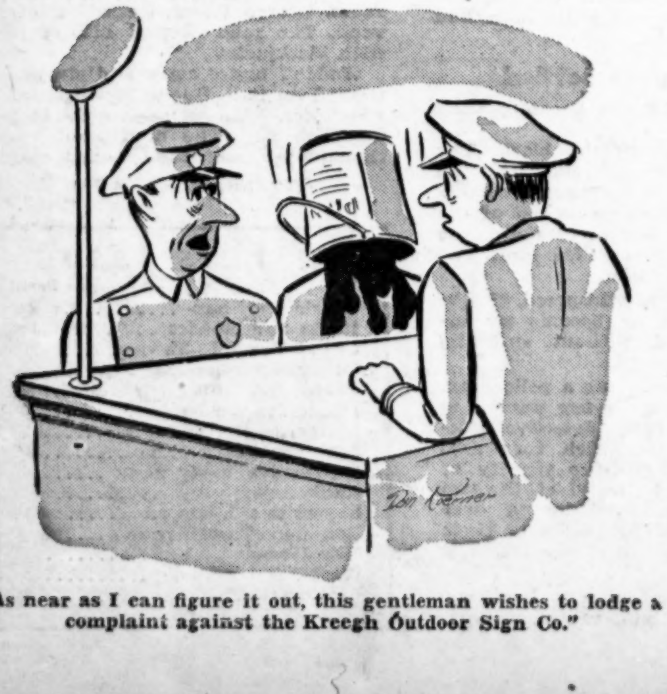
We have

CHICAGO, ILL.

Your articles on Poland are interesting and educational. I hope you have more of them.

F. Kaczorowski



"As near as I can figure it out, this gentleman wishes to lodge a complaint against the Kreegh Outdoor Sign Co."

Jennings Perry

Deuce in the hole

THE Administration's decision to give labor legislation priority over the Atlantic Pact in the Senate is all right by this American. The Pact can wait. It always can wait. If in the meantime it evaporates right out of memory, we shall we spared a reproach in the history books of later times.

The Administration still claims the votes to ratify this military alliance whenever the test comes. It may have them in the present Senate, though it has been doubtful from the beginning that the deal would go over if the American people ever get at it by referendum. They may yet, if it can be kept on ice long enough.

The Administration's decision to wait comes in the face of an utter lack of popular demand for ratification and in the train of other circumstances, diminishing whatever importance the project ever had. Earlier, it was the song of our might-makes-right stategists that favorable action on the Pact was needed to strengthen Secretary of State Acheson's hand at Paris. Now it is too late for that.

IT HAS been too late, moreover, ever since it became apparent that, Pact or no Pact, Congress was in no mood to put up the first billion and a half for European rearmament at any time soon. The Pact without the guns would have strengthened Acheson's hand about as much as a toy balloon. Even with a pledge of guns it would not have been much more formidable. We are practically the only people on earth who refuse to perceive that saber-rattling fails to ruffle the composure of the antagonists we have picked.

As it is, Secretary Acheson sits at Paris (as at all other two-world meetings) with the A-bomb in his bag. If this ace-weapon hasn't noticeably made "gentlemen" of our opponents, how may we think to make ourselves more impressive by an agreement to supply our allies with comparatively innocuous arms? At best the Atlantic Pact would have given us a hole card of dubious value — and in the wrong suit.

THE people we are sitting down with know as well as we do that we are beginning to worry seriously about our internal economy, and that the chances of our shouldering the rearmament of Europe recede with every sag of the markets. These people, as events have shown, do not bluff easily anyway, and it is puerile for us to continue to rely, at the foreign policy table, on a wrong bid whose emptiness is evident all the time.

That is one reason why the Administration has moved to save itself the trouble of wrestling with the Atlantic Pact this spring.

OUR preoccupation with "strengthening Acheson's hand" at Paris could stand breaking into about here, before it becomes ludicrous. What really should interest us at Paris is the possibility which remains of opening commercial communications between the East and the West. Curiously enough, this possibility **gains** with every deflationary showing on our market tables.

As we slough off the fat of our wartime prosperity, some of our cockiness begins to flake off also. The markets of the East, which we have scorned throughout the Cold War, begin to appear less contemptible. The thought that an interchange of goods with these behind-the-curtain areas might be **mutually** profitable is less and less painful to us as the days go by.

Here is the direction in which we may go happily whether or not the Atlantic Pact is ever heard of again — a direction in which progress depends not on ruses to strengthen hands, but on simple relaxation of the stiffness of necks.

Meet Floyd Odlum

Truman's big money man voted likeliest to succeed

By Tabitha Petran

THE big-money man most likely to succeed in the Truman Administration—if a Congressional investigation doesn't get him first—is Floyd B. Odlum.

Odlum is a Wall St. go-getter who rose in jigtime from a $50-a-month job in Utah Power & Light to the vice-presidency of J. P. Morgan's Electric Bond & Share Co. in 1921, and who now oversees a fistful of U.S. corporations ranging from Atlas Corp. (his earliest) to Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp.

He is regarded by official Washington as a "man of mystery" known to be among the list of official White House visitors who are admitted to the President's office through the back door, safe from prying newshawks' eyes.

OPEN STORY. Actually Odlum's high standing in Administration circles is no mystery. Biggest financial supporter of the Truman campaign, he was recently offered the chairmanship of the National Security Resources Board. Odlum declined, but he is known to covet the post of Secretary of Commerce if and when Secretary Sawyer quits.

The Congressional investigation featuring Odlum is focussed on Consolidated Vultee's disputed B-36 bomber, which has been up, down and up again in Air Forces procurement plans—more or less in step with the rise of Odlum's standing with the Administration. Rep. James Van Zandt (R-Pa.), who is pressing the investigation, says: "There is more to this deal than meets the eye." More than one military expert agrees with him.

ENTER THE JESTER. The story behind it all is this:

Early in the fall of 1947, Odlum bought Consolidated Vultee from Victor Emanuel. Thus he was in on the ground floor when Truman's rearmament program was sprung on Congress in March, 1948. Among the directors of Consolidated were George E. Allen, close friend and White House jester to Harry Truman, and Louis E. Johnson, who since has replaced James Forrestal as Secretary of Defense.

Johnson was the only Victor Emanuel man to remain with Consolidated under Odlum. In the summer of 1948, Johnson also became chairman of the finance committee of the Democratic Party. Odlum became, in effect, the biggest mainstay of the Truman campaign. He gave $3,000 himself but he had four friends—fellow directors at United Fruit—who came in for $5,000 apiece.

WINTER SOLDIER. In October 1948 Odlum visited Truman to assure the President he was "not a fair weather Democrat." He also told reporters on emerging from the White House that Consolidated would build the jet bomber, the Flying Wing, for the Air Force. But he assured them that his call on the President was not connected with his aircraft ventures and his request for a $42 million RFC loan to help finance his proposed Conveyor Finance Co.—a scheme by which he planned to finance the sale of aircraft to airlines and others.

Early in 1948 the Air Force had canceled contracts for B-36 Consolidated Bombers after studies had proved it vulnerable, according to Rep. Van Zandt.

"SOMETHING SINISTER." On March 7, 1949, Louis Johnson became Secretary of Defense.

Shortly thereafter, the Air Force canceled contracts for 470 planes of other types and concentrated a large volume of its spending on Odlum's B-36's. A source close to the National Security Resources Board told GUARDIAN that "there appears to be something sinister in the sudden reversal of the armed services on B-36's."

RUMORS START. Johnson then roused the Navy's ire by brusquely shelving the Navy's big aircraft carrier. Ugly rumors about Johnson, Odlum and Stuart Symington, Secretary for Air, forced a full-scale investigation.

Also scheduled to come under investigation is a project which Odlum is reported to be pushing for a "General Motors" of the air, which will bring West and East Coast aircraft companies into one integrated company or monopoly. Symington has been mentioned as the man who will head this company for Odlum. He has denied it.

On April 26 Johnson told reporters off the record that Curtis Calder, another close associate of Odlum's, chairman of the Board of Electric Bond & Share, would become Secretary of the Army. Calder denied he had accepted the post, said he would take 60 days to decide. Washington expects him to accept.

Red-white-blue choo-choo

NOW 57 years old, Floyd Odlum is the son of a Michigan Methodist preacher. At 34 he was already a captain of finance. He bought a half billion dollars worth of utilities for J. P. Morgan in Europe and South America between 1926 and 1929.

He resigned this job in 1931 to attend to his own business, an investment trust founded in 1923 with George Howard, another Morgan man.

By the early 30's they had run their original $40,000 investment into a $100 million enterprise, known as the Atlas Corp. Directors were Odlum, Howard, and Reeve Schley, vice president of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank. Odlum was described at that time as one of the 30 economic rulers of the U.S. One writer predicted glowingly: "He may grow to replace the House of Morgan."

It was Odlum who dreamed up the idea of a red, white and blue Office of Production Management train to tour the country and show small manufacturers the type of equipment that was needed in war production. Officials at the War Production Board said the government paid more for the train than the sum represented in all the small business contracts negotiated through its operation. Odlum remained in the OPM one month.

His Atlas Corp. has interests in Liberty magazine, RKO, Paramount, Franklin Simon, Madison Sq. Garden, United Fruit Co., Remington Rand and others.

HARRY TRUMAN and FLOYD ODLU:I
3,000 bucks—but he had 4 friends

In every port, Wallace means 'Welcome!'

DEAR HENRY WALLACE:
I am a seaman just returned from a trip around the world and I take this opportunity to send you the greetings of many men and women who asked about you wherever I went.

The odd thing is that nowhere, at no time, did I first mention your name. It was always the other person who brought your name into the conversation.

In Havana I met some sugar workers just in from the interior. After I had asked one of them some questions about Cuba, he asked: "And how is our good friend Henry Wallace?" "Fine," I said. "Do you know him?" "Si," he replied, "all Cuba knows him." He translated to his companions. They smiled. "Si, Wallace, amigo. Buen amigo." "Say to Wallace," the spokesman said, "Saludo."

"IN OUR HUTS." Perhaps you have met some of the "Silvers" in the Canal Zone—the Panamanians who have built a strong union and are defending it valiantly from AFL raiders and government red-baiters. Perhaps you know the classical English they speak. A steward of the United Public Workers said to me as we passed through the Gatun Locks: "Wallace stands on a peak taller than Darien. Here he is beyond assail for his heart is in our huts."

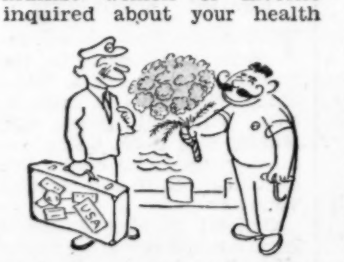
In Yokohama, in Kobe, in Tokyo, the Japanese asked about you. At the Simbasho station a schoolteacher said: "Wallace would not keep MacArthur, would he? How could he? He is for the people, yes?"

In Hongkong, in Shanghai, the Chinese spoke your name with warmth. One evening in Manila I talked with the executive board of the Congress of Labor Organizations. Cipriano Cid, former editor of a leading Philippine paper, fired by the owner because he had attended a conference in Europe on keeping the press free, asked earnestly: "Tell us, is Wallace still fighting?" The others listened eagerly. "Yes," I replied, "he is still fighting." "Tell him," said Alfredo Saulo, secretary of the CLO, "to keep fighting, never to give up."

PAKISTAN HELLO. In Singapore I talked to a trade union president — an apologist for British oppression in Malaya. As I arose to leave he asked: "Is Wallace still active?" "Yes," I said, a knife in my voice, "he's still fighting imperialism. I suppose you hate him." "No," he said weakly, "I will not speak against Wallace. He is unimpeachable.

Your friends would have loved to be close by in Karachi, Pakistan, when two railwaymen said to me: "You talk good. You know Wallace? Wallace O.K. Your ship go New York. You speak Hello, Wallace, eh, Johnny?"

The Communist longshoremen in Genoa and the Communist women of Livorno inquired about your health



and activities; the stevedores of Genoa and the women of Livorno who were for De Gasperi were likewise interested.

PASSWORD IN INDIA. In Cochin I talked with a young Indian army officer who denounced Russia vitriolically. "A country of slaves," he called it. "No freedom, no opportunity." After he had talked for hours about India, he asked: "Now will you answer some questions about America?"

His first question was of you: "Is Wallace still fighting for peace?" "Yes," I replied. "Do you like Wallace?" He nodded. "But Truman also says he is for peace," I said. "We trust Wallace more," he replied. A young checker who was standing at our side took my hand. "When you reach home, give my hand to Wallace."

In an Indian village a seaman friend of mine was suddenly accosted and denounced by several villagers, led in their shouting by an old man. "Go back," he was told, "no good, get out, no want!" "I'm not English," my friend cried, "I'm an American." "America bad too," they yelled. "Get out, go from India!" The group was closing in on him and shoving their fists under his nose.

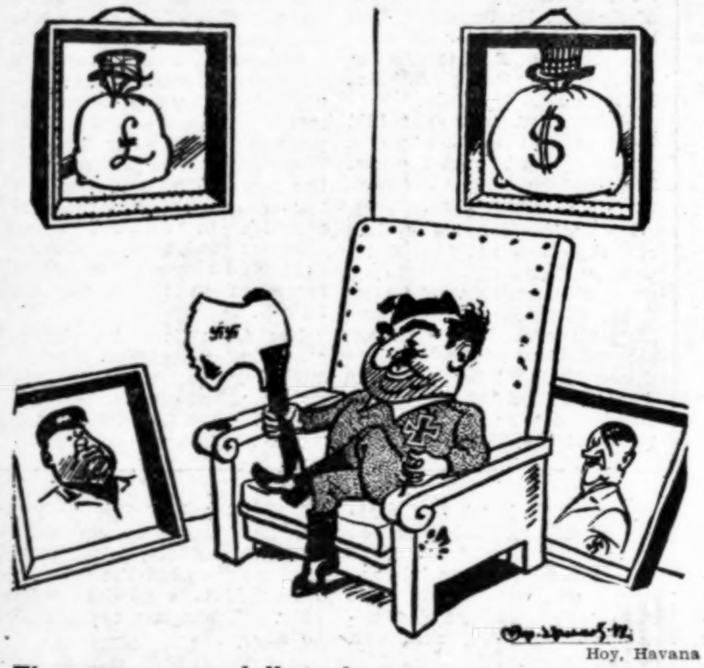
My friend had to think fast. He did. "Take it easy!" he shouted, "I'm a Wallace American!"

"Wallace?" the old ringleader asked. "Henry Wallace," my friend said. "Ah," said the old man, restraining the others, "big difference."

Anthony Piestra

Like this story? Point it out to a friend.

Inside Franco Spain



Hoy, Havana

The props are dollar signs

Without the U.S. Franco is through

(Last of series)

By Stanley Karnow

MADRID

THERE are no political prisoners in Franco's jails—says Franco. In fact about 30% of the estimated 120,000 prison population are politicals. They are listed as "black market operators" and so on.

They may wait years for trial, but it makes little difference. As an English observer at one recent trial put it: "All is over and done with before the prisoner comes into court."

Last month a visiting warden from Chile, calling Spain's prisons the most beautiful in Europe, praised bountifully the system of "redemption through work." At the moment, less than half an hour's ride from here, some 2,000 prisoners—mostly ex-Loyalist fighters—are being redeemed by hewing into sheer stone mountainside a $100,000,000 memorial to Franco's insurgent soldiers killed in the Civil War.

HIGH PRESSURE. While the Spanish people bear the burden of fascism, Franco's bankers shuttle back and forth between Wall Street and the Calle de Alcala.

What Franco has received so far in U.S. credits has been small potatoes compared with his needs. But at the same time, U.S. investment in Spain has been developing on a slow but steady scale.

Under the pressure of Economic Cooperation Administration "suggestions," Marshall Plan countries have been induced to keep fascist Spain alive with commercial agreements. Great Britain, whose Labor Government claims to oppose Franco, nevertheless lent Spain $40,000,000 to buy British goods under an arrangement made in 1947, and last year signed an accord renewing normal trade relations.

THE JACKPOT. Likewise, Spain has completed commercial arrangements with Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Holland, Norway, Portugal, France, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

When Republican Representative Alvin E. O'Konski of Wisconsin said last summer, "I will do all within my power, with the help of a number of my colleagues in Congress, to obtain either private or official dollar credits for Spain," he was laying down a barrage for open U.S. investment.

Following that, the Chase National Bank, backed by the Export-Import Bank, lent Franco $25,000,000 to buy back Spain's run-down communications system owned since 1924 by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Bold with success in his financial ventures, the Caudillo is currently angling for a $200,000,000 loan from the American government to cover "urgent tasks of reconstruction." Trying for the jackpot, he has still not answered to offers of loans from Great Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, and Switzerland, which total $130,500,000.

PIETY. In exchange for cold cash, Franco is only too happy to put up some collateral in the form of strategic military points. Down in Spanish West Africa, he has turned the largest commercial radio station in the world—situated at Fernando Po in Spanish Guinea—over to Marconi's Wireless Holding, the British subsidiary of American Telephone and Telegraph.

For purpose of administration, the organization will be called Torres Quevedoes S.A., and will be under the presidency of one Count de Marsal, a noble gentleman who occupies himself in off-hours running a religious-type society—Patrons of Our Lady of Piety—which handles the orientation of political prisoners for forced labor in Spanish Guinea.

In the same area, a joint American-Spanish team of military experts have been laying the groundwork for airfields, ports, and army installations. Led by General Garcia Escamez, who had been briefed in Washington back in August, 1947, and the American Naval Commission stationed in Madrid, military and naval establishments are going up at Ifni, Aiun, Tantan, Cape Juby and other places whose obscurity does not detract from their strategic interest.

TEMPLE OF LOVE. Just when the love affair between Franco and the State Dept. was going nicely, the effort to lift UN's bar on ambassadors in Madrid failed in spite of American arm-twisting efforts in the lobbies. Seen from here, this is a melancholy thing. The State Dept.'s Chief Property Officer has been in Madrid inspecting sites, and work was to begin on a new U.S. Embassy costing $25,000,000.

Hordes of swallow-tailed dignitaries, businessmen and church officials were expected to come to bless Uncle Sam's diplomatic hacienda amid Spanish medieval pomp, and to prepare for this Pan American Airways is already cementing up a new airfield at Forrejon de Ardor, a short limousine ride from the capital.

WE HAVE FORGOTTEN. Some Spaniards wishfully think this U.S. financial control of Spain will end in the ouster of Franco, but as a more realistic observer put it: "The Americans won't let go of the easiest tool they ever had."

For the Americans, Franco is uncomplicated. He would be happy to turn Spain into a military base, and is willing to tone down his nationalism enough to become a silent subsidiary of an American monopoly of Spain.

Without the U.S., Franco's days are numbered. He could be frozen out of existence by merely a cold touch from America. But the State Department has forgotten the Civil War, the Falange executions, the secret police, and the Spanish people, and the new warm friendship between the United States and Spain threatens to burn up twenty million Spaniards' hopes for a free natic

New colony

THE entire Spanish oil refining industry is in the hands of U.S. business. Combined Spanish-U.S. operation, with oil from U.S. Middle East fields being refined in Spain, is controlled by Caltex, Gulf and Socony Vacuum.

General Electric holds a large measure of control over Spain's most heavily invested industry, hydroelectric power, with two GE representatives on the trust's board of directors.

Although Franco ostensibly "bought back" Spanish telephones from AT&T, communications control is pieced up among AT&T, GE and Westinghouse. Almost all electrical equipment in Spain is manufactured by GE affiliate companies. Spanish railroads are being electrified under financial auspices of Westinghouse.

With German firms temporarily out of the picture, most of Spain's chemical and aluminum industries are under American control.

A roving reporter's diary

In Warsaw—you don't want to sleep, anyway

(This is the first of Richard Yaffe's reports from Europe. These warm human stories by the former foreign editor of PM will be a regular feature of the GUARDIAN and will take you in coming weeks on a tour of many countries you'd like to visit.

By Richard A. Yaffe

WARSAW (by air mail)

THE Warshavians are extremely inconsiderate of Americans. They get up at the crack of dawn and begin their work of rebuilding their city to the blare of bands and the clatter of earth-breakers, cement mixers, trucks, bulldozers and horse-drawn carts.

So we, too, are getting up at the crack of dawn, wide-eyed with wonder at what's going on here in the most devastated of all cities—a city 85% destroyed in which 750,000 persons lost their lives, more than the casualties of the U.S. and England combined.

You say to a Pole that this is terrible, all this havoc, all this needless devastation, and he tells you right back that this is nothing; we should have seen Warsaw three years ago, two years ago, last month, last week, yesterday. That's how things go here: every minute is useful, and let the dead past bury its dead. This will be the most beautiful city in the world, you shall see.

To give GUARDIAN readers a picture of Poland after only a few days would be unfair. I have no such picture—yet. I have only impressions, which I will pass on:

IT would have been much easier to leave Warsaw alone—to build it at another site instead of having to tear down and put up again. This the Warshavians would not think of; Warsaw was Warsaw, and it had to be rebuilt. It was not only a city but an idea and an ideal. I think it gives a clue to the kind of people they are.

So far, I haven't found anyone who is really angry with us because we are Americans. Rather, they are happy to find Americans who are willing to see and understand, and hope that we will write the truth; not propaganda for Poland, but merely the truth. Then, perhaps, the feeling in America may change, if even a little bit, and all this silly animosity toward Poland will be relieved a little bit.

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Today is a national church holiday—the Day of the Ascension—and everything but the restaurants is closed down tight—even the governmental ministries. Godless Poland, did you say?

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WE visited Sopot on the way down to Warsaw. Sopot is called the Riviera of the Baltic, and with justification. It is a beautiful spot, lovely hotels, sea walks, trees and hundreds upon hundreds of flower beds. On the sidewalk we got into conversation with some young boys who were giggling at our English. I spoke to them in German and found that they could speak it better than Polish. One of them, Gunther Schmidt, told me why. During the entire German occupation (this was East Prussia) they were not allowed to learn Polish, and even their parents did not speak it well.

They had heard so much about the American dollar and asked if I could show them one. I did, and they weren't terribly impressed. Poland's money was more artistic, they told me gravely.

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POLAND can take self-criticism, I have found. One of their publications has an article titled "This Thing Called Bureaucracy" which quotes Economic Minister Hilary Minc as describing Poland as a "People's Democracy with a bureaucratic deviation."

The article, from **Zycie Warzawy**, a weekly, plaintively asks why, "when making any official application, must you give your mother's maiden name?"; and why, when an application is typed, does the official insist that it be in longhand; and when it is in longhand, why it must be on ruled paper?

This made us feel a little better. We thought that only foreigners were given the red tape treatment.

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The Poles love flowers. There are flower stands in the worst of the bombed-out holes. The telegraph poles all the way from Gdynia to Warsaw—a 9-hour trip—had wooden flower boxes hanging from them, and every window had a flower box, even if the house had no roof.

IN POLAND: Ella Winter and Jamaica poet Peter Blackman took time out from last year's Wroclaw Conference to lend a hand.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

Keynote: Strength

THE week began with a flourish of trumpets, a roll of drums and men marching in cities and towns. Those who could not get away to a picnic ground watched from the curb.

The Trumans joined the excursionists. They spent the Memorial Day holiday aboard the Presidential yacht Williamsburg. Naval officers were detailed to represent Mr. Truman at the ceremonies at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington. Only once did the President break his holiday. On Monday he stopped off at Annapolis to go to chapel with the graduating midshipmen of the Naval Academy.

To newsmen who followed him the President said: "Every single one of you has to go to church."

GENTLE BOMBS. Generals everywhere asked for more guns, better guns, bigger armies as steps toward peace. Fleet Admiral William F. (Bull) Halsey pleaded for more aircraft carriers in the name of peace.

Gen. Mark Clark in Rome said the U.S. "won't be caught off guard by anyone who believes might makes right." Then he dwelt on might.

Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson sounded the keynote. He called for "Peace Through Strength." The slogan was catchy but had a grisly familiarity. Hitler's slogan was "Strength through Joy."

Not so jaunty

Businessmen were less cock-sure and made fewer speeches. **Business Week** magazine wrote: "Businessmen are experiencing in the first half of 1949 what a good many forecasters said wouldn't come until the second half: lower volume, lower prices, lower profits, lower employment. For many companies, this is painful. For everybody it's a bit frightening. But the real question is: is it healthy? This 'correction' (earlier euphemisms were disinflation, deflation, recession) is essentially a shakedown to postwar normalcy. . . . Improvement should set in late this year or next."

Some found the "correction" definitely unhealthy. The magazine added: "Many consumers have been priced out of the market for the things they need and want. Others have had the money but wouldn't pay going prices. Those are the major causes of the current 'correction.' . . . Most significant employment feature has been the drop in factory jobs."

In recent years the nation's economy has come to lean more heavily on industrial activity. Non-agricultural enterprises maintain 85% of the working population.

In March the Census Bureau counted 3,000,000 unemployed. The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) said that census figures failed to reckon categories of unemployed totaling another 1,500,000. In the depression year of 1932 there were 11,000,000 unemployed.

In New York State the number of workers seeking jobless insurance benefits soared to 486,759 in the week ending May 28—the highest figure in the law's 13-year history. It was an increase of 76% since October, 1948.

WASHINGTON WEEK

Ghosts on the hill

SIGNS of approaching depression looked so ominous, reported GUARDIAN's John B. Stone, that Public Works Administrator Philip B. Fleming traveled up to Capitol Hill and won a promise from the Senate Public Works Committee to reopen hearings on authorizing Federal funds for state public works projects.

"The nation," Fleming has said, "could spend $9,000,000,000 on school construction or sewer and waterworks projects without fully meeting the needs of either. It would require $8,500,000,000 to build the hospitals we need."

IF HE SQUEALS . . . Sen. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) put his staff to work on a bill to authorize billions for an approved list of public works which could be started on short notice. Others wondered where the billions would come from if jet-propelled war spending continued.

Even for the trinity of "must" legislation to which Senate majority leader Scott W. Lucas (Ill.) had said this session's legislative program was stripped down—the Atlantic Pact, reciprocal trade agreements and a labor law—there was not much time if Congress were to adjourn July 31. That was the date and that was the program given by Lucas in his statement after a session with the President.

"Why, oh why," **Time** magazine quoted the President as saying, "do they make statements when they go out of here?"

LAUGHTER. A grandmother who serves in Washington as correspondent for a string of New England papers piped up at a press conference on Thursday. "Mr. President, there seems to be no intention up there of complying with your requests. What will you do if they go home without doing it?"

Herblock in the Washington Post

"Never mind about breathing. This is for security."

Well now, said Mr. Truman, you could not come to that conclusion because you never could comment on the work of a session of Congress until it was over.

Reporters reminded him of his promises at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners to stump the country for his program. The President said the project was on the shelf but possible for next year, a Congressional election year. Anthony Leviero of the **New York Times** reported: "The conference ended in laughter."

Congressional leaders predicted adjournment by Aug. 15 at latest. Lucas, it appeared, hadn't been exactly wrong; he had just talked out of turn.

Atomic squeeze play

The headlines went to the big show: a full-dress investigation of charges of "incredible mismanagement" on the part of David Lilienthal's Atomic Energy Commission.

For a week the news crackled with hot exchanges between Lilienthal and Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (R-Iowa) who made the charges. Hickenlooper demanded that Lilienthal confront him face to face; he was prepared, he said, "to produce proof." Lilienthal announced publicly that he was "pretty damn mad," said Hickenlooper's charges were "vague" and "un-American" and "calculated to arouse . . . panic."

SOUNDING BRASS. On Wednesday the two men faced each other across a committee table in a Hollywood atmosphere of Kleig lights, newsreel cameras and microphones. Chairman Brien McMahon opened proceedings with a fine senatorial flourish: "We must be thorough. We must be just."

But Hickenlooper didn't present his proof. Instead, he demanded that Atomic Energy Commission files covering 14 categories of information be delivered to him by 5 p.m., a physical impossibility. Later he reduced his demand to six categories of information.

Meanwhile Sen. Cain (R.-Wash.) polished up a bill to abolish the Lilienthal commission and give atomic control to a military brass-hat board, consisting of the Secretary of Defense, the secretaries of armed services, the three Chiefs of Staff and one scientist.

Congress briefs

- The Taft-Hartley Law would be up for debate in the Senate early this week; talk was expected to go on for at least two weeks. Republicans were confident of support from 20 or 25 Dixiecrats; Sen. Taft predicted that the President would be tempted to veto the bill he would get. Sen. Lucas retreated before the first shot was fired. On Friday he said of the Administration's measure: "In principle I approve of some amendments."

- The Senate passed—without knowing what's in it—the super-secret bill authorizing the military Central Intel-

Continued on following page

West Coast wire

Progressives celebrate a striking victory

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

HISTORY overtook Los Angeles last week in a spectacular municipal election which placed a Mexican-American in City Council for the first time since the United States acquired the pueblo from Mexico.

This realization of a century-old dream of Los Angeles' 450,000 Spanish-speaking residents was spectacular because the winner, Edward R. Roybal, polled twice his opponent's strength in a strictly grassroots campaign.

Back of the energetic young public health worker and ex-GI, whose ancestors came to the sunny Southwest a couple of years before the Pilgrims hit Plymouth Rock, was an incredibly broad coalition.

In the forefront—and officially—was the Independent Progressive Party. However, some Democratic and even Republican leaders in the blighted district got on the wagon as Roybal's chances improved after he led a field of four in the primary last April 5.

Early support for his candidacy came from Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer, director of the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau, and both "wings" of the embattled CIO.

Only the AFL stayed outside the liberal - labor - progressive coalition and endorsed Roybal's opponent, 79-year-old Parley P. Christensen, incumbent since 1939 and a badly backslid ex-liberal.

The Roybal camp attracted broader and broader support, which, shortly before the runoff election, included the Los Angeles **Daily News**, only commercial paper to back Roybal, who was heavily redbaited by his opponents.

Roybal campaigned realistically at IPP meetings and elsewhere against police brutality suffered by his people and other minorities—Jews, Negroes, Chinese, Nisei and Filipinos, and for public housing, a municipal FEPC and political and racial unity.

In the same election, Los Angeles "Loyalty Oath" mayor, Fletcher Bowron, won a tight race against city engineer Lloyd Aldrich. Progressives turned thumbs down on both runoff candidates, after former Congressman Ellis E. Patterson ran third in the primary field of nine but failed to make the finals.

Continued from preceding page

ligence Agency to operate a world spy system without accounting for either funds spent or personnel used, and to make the U.S. a haven for alien spies in U.S. pay.

The measure went to the House with only minor changes but Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) objected to them. Since acceptance of them required unanimous consent the measure went to a Senate-House conference committee. Marcantonio thereby gained a few days' time.

- On Wednesday the House passed (365 to 27) and sent to the Senate a bill that would give all 65-year-old veterans of both World Wars a $72-a-month pension if they earn not more than $1,200 if single or $2,500 if married. The cost as estimated by experts: $65,000,000,000 in the next 50 years.
- Rep. Walter Norblad (R.-Ore.) came up with a bill out-witch-hunting the Mundt bill (which would outlaw the Communist Party), the Hobbs bill (to jail alien "subversives" without bail) and the McCarran bill (mass deportations). Under it the U.S. would provide free transportation to the U.S.S.R. for all native U.S. Communists.

"You're just the man I need to explain the benefits of the Taft-Hartley Law."

LABOR WEEK

Bridges: 4th round

LAST week a special Washington report to GUARDIAN said: "If—as seems likely on the evidence—the right wing in CIO is helping this new attempt to jail and deport Bridges. . . ."

By midweek there was no if about it. CIO officials had their hatchets out, prepared to dispose of Harry Bridges, president of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. He has been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of perjury.

After the failure of three earlier attempts to deport him, the Australian-born Bridges won his U.S. citizenship in 1945. The government has reopened the case, charging that Bridges lied when he denied he was a Communist.

NEW FACES. The government could not have made yet another try without being assured of new witnesses; the old ones had been discredited.

One new one was Mervyn Rathborne, former California State CIO secretary-treasurer. Bridges' defense counsel

promised to reveal "the true reason for his (Rathborne's) odd behavior."

Another was Thomas Ray, research director for the National Maritime Union, who turned from the left when Joe Curran, NMU president, turned.

Harry talks back

In a press conference last Wednesday, Bridges said his latest rousting by the Truman Administration is part of a conspiracy to silence labor opposition and create a docile Labor Front. He declared:

"If wage increases for workers would catch up with the fourth round of procedures against me—that would indeed be a good thing.

"Everything was promised [by the Truman Administration] in the 1948 election. At that time they never intended to deliver and none of it is going to be delivered. They themselves now admit that their whole program has been dumped with the exception of the North Atlantic Pact and reciprocal trade agreements."

THEY WON'T QUIT. "What they require now is to make organized labor an appendage of one of the political parties—and I don't mean the Republican Party. In order to put this over, organized labor must be silenced. But neither our union nor myself as its president will be silenced."

Regarding the indictment of Henry Schmidt, leader of the ILWU strike in Hawaii, Bridges said:

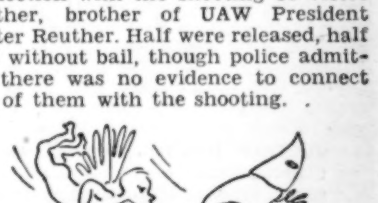
"The governor of Hawaii is a direct representative of the Administration, and the policy of the Administration is against higher wages. They say: 'Talk and get your brains beat out; no back-talk or else; shut up or you'll be indicted.'"

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. The rank-and-file of Bridges' union was undeterred by indictments and hatchet wielders. Local after local of the ILWU went down the line for Bridges in the election for president. He was elected to his sixth straight term by better than 4 to 1.

Up and down the west coast waterfront, meanwhile, FBI agents swarmed, asking everybody left of the Waterfront Employers' Association: "What do you know about Harry?"

Detroit dragnet

EARLY Wednesday morning Detroit Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy itemized the haul in his dragnet. He said there were 252 "hoodlums, gamblers and subversives." They were picked up without a warrant apparently in connection with the shooting of Victor Reuther, brother of UAW President Walter Reuther. Half were released, half held without bail, though police admitted there was no evidence to connect any of them with the shooting.



GUARDIAN's correspondent Irving Richter asked Commissioner Toy how police distinguished "subversives." Toy said they were communists but not necessarily party members. He showed off his picture file which he said was one of the most complete in the [illegible]. In his collection there were pictures of the Ford hunger march in 1941 and of the race riot in 1943. Strikes were well covered. He used these pictures, he said, to round up "labor goons" who he defined as "connected with strikes."

Police declined to say when those held would be released. Richter commented: "The roundup is believed to be preliminary to the wholesale arrest of progressives."

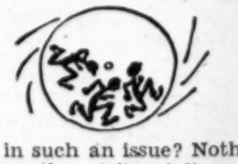
Ford: "inside job"

FORDS and Chevrolets run a never-ending race. Ford lieutenants watching the race on graphs called for a burst of steam. The assembly line was speeded up from a production rate of 320 cars a day to 378 cars. The men who work on the assembly lines protested.

President Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers of America (CIO) called the reports of protest "exaggerated" and the protestants "Communists."

NO STRAIN. Feeling no strain, the lieutenants pushed the throttle up to 384 cars a day. They said the official rate would remain 378, but that extra speed would be required to make up for absenteeism and unavoidable breakdowns.

The men struck on May 4. The company suggested arbitration. Tommy Thompson, president of Local 600 where the strike began, said: "In simple words the union maintains that the company shall run operations at 100% and no faster, of the production standard established for each job. . . . What is there



to arbitrate in such an issue? Nothing."

For 25 days the strikers' lines held firm. President Reuther, their reluctant leader, negotiated, moving little toy cars on a toy assembly line for the benefit of the lieutenants.

Last week Reuther packed up his toy cars and in tones of triumph announced

Progressives on the march

How to lick a sales tax—and a lot of other things

THE editor of the Palo Alto (Calif.) **Times** was annoyed. To his desk had come "a yellow sheet of paper" designed, as he wrote in his Editor At Bat column, "to incite the populace to vote NO on the city sales tax proposal."

The inciters, whom the editor addressed collectively as "comrade," were the Independent Progressive Party Club of Palo Alto. The incitements were:

- Pointing out that with a 3% sales tax a $5,000-a-year family pays $11.80 per $1,000 of income while a $15,000-a-year family pays only $6 per $1,000.
- That the tax would be as much of a nuisance to merchants as to customers and would send shoppers to neighboring tax-free communities.
- That, with wages falling and unemployment growing, wage-earners' living costs were already $520 more than in August, 1946; they couldn't afford another price increase.
- The suggestion that among alternative sources of additional city income, yacht harbor charges be hiked.

SUSPICIOUS COMPANY. Proud of their city's status as home town of the only living ex-President, Palo Alto businessmen wondered which way to jump. They couldn't deny that the proposed sales tax would hurt business, but didn't like agreeing with people they considered "unpatriotic."

Yet they knew that but for the IPP action there wouldn't even have been a referendum on the tax. The City Council had announced the tax, to go into effect within less than a month—without hearings. On the last day IPP had filed a referendum petition with enough signatures to force the proposal to a popular vote.

Some merchants contributed to IPP's campaign; some said they'd rather have the tax than keep such company. On voting day it made no difference. The people had been successfully incited; out of 4,000 votes the tax lost by 500.

THE WORMS TURN. In Nevada, too, the sales tax (presented to the people as "really only paid by tourists") was defeated after Progressive Party delegates brought protest petitions signed by hundreds of citizens to Carson City.

In Peoria, Ill., Progressive "incitement" of him-who-gets-soaked by the sales tax continued.

Attacking the ballooning HCL on another front, the Progressive Party in Chicago's 4th Ward had set up a rent advisory council to incite resistance against rent hikes.

LESS CORN IN OKLAHOMA. Elsewhere around the country Progressives mobilized against race discrimination, and scored victories. In Oklahoma, which was to see this summer its first inter-racial dance and picnic, skits and plays performed at Negro high schools urged students to force State discrimination into the open by applying to state jimcrow universities rather than go north. By the chartered bus-load they were being taken on conducted tours of the rotting-floored, broken-windowed, bare-bulbed classrooms where Negroes are supposed to receive "equal facilities" in higher education.

"After they've seen it," predicted the Equal Education Committee, "action will quadruple."

Last week the state legislature passed a bill (now awaiting Gov. Turner's signature) which would allow Negroes to attend Oklahoma A. and M. College and the U. of Oklahoma—in separate classrooms.

TIME TO SWIM. Fourth victory of the year was chalked up in Los Angeles for the campaign to open up opportunities for Negroes in white-owned banks.

Mrs. Geraldine Norman, 20, wife of a veteran, became the second member of her race to be hired by one bank branch in a largely Negro district. Another bank hired two Negro clerks last February. The job drive was sparked by the Independent Progressive Party, which collected petition signatures outside the banks and talked with bank officials.

Two Young Progressive Negroes went swimming in the Natatorium, Asbury Park, N.J., with Lou Kaplan, chairman of the Asbury Park PP. They had a fine swim, and nobody else minded—but such a thing had never happened before; PP delegations and protest letters against discrimination at the pool had been bombarding local authorities for weeks.

a settlement. The company had agreed to arbitrate precisely as they had demanded at the strike's start.

The question to be arbitrated was: Does the company have the right to unlimited speedup? The company assumed that was beyond negotiation. The only thing an arbitrator was to decide was: Does the company have the right to announce a speedup and then actually move the lines faster than its own schedule called for?

MOUNTAIN CLIMBERS. Reuther told striking locals: "This agreement doesn't take us up to the mountain peak, but it takes us a little nearer."

Thompson didn't see the peak. Members Ed Lock and William Carr of Local 600 distributed a leaflet which called the agreement "a definite betrayal of the strikers' demands." Old-timer of Local 600, William McKie said: "An inside job was being done behind the workers' backs."

As the week ended Reuther prepared to resume his huddle with management—on pensions and welfare funds, not speedups—and Ford assembly lines were slipping into high gear again; the executive lieutenants sighed to see the Chevrolets go by.

John L. fights

IN the past 19 years 1,259,081 coal miners were killed or injured on the job. John L. Lewis cited the figure before a Senate Labor subcommittee to back his demand for a Federal safety law to keep miners from being "maimed, mangled and killed."

Present State enforcement of safety doesn't work, he said, and operators will not abide by regulations unless forced by the Federal government.

BLACK DEATH. There was total silence while the shaggy union chief denounced "fat" mine operators and conjured up the ghosts of the dead: "If I had the powers of a Merlin, I would march that million and a quarter men past the Congress of the U.S.—the quick and the dead. . . . I would have the ambulatory injured drag the dead after them. . . . I would have the concourse flanked by the weeping members of each man's family, six and a quarter million people, wailing and lamenting."

The number killed and maimed in 19 years represented three times the number of men employed, he said. "Was any war in history ever fought which was more devastating or decimating of the population?"

JOHN L. LEWIS

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Hiss vs. Chambers

LAST Aug. 25 Alger Hiss said: "Whittaker Chambers is a self-confessed liar. . . ." Whittaker Chambers said: "Hiss is lying."

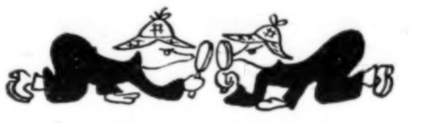
Last Wednesday in a Federal court in New York's Foley Square a jury of ten men and two women settled down to try to decide which was the liar. Alger Hiss, former State Department official, former president of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, accused by Chambers (an ex-senior editor of **Time**) of giving him 47 secret State Department documents for transmission to Soviet agents in pre-war years, was on trial for perjury.

Hiss was indicted on two counts by a Federal Grand Jury last December after denying (1) that he had given Chambers secret documents; (2) that he had seen Chambers after Jan. 1, 1937.

"MORAL LEPER." The trial began swiftly. A jury was chosen in less than three hours. The judge presided with brisk impartiality. The lawyers did not orate. By the second day preliminary witnesses had been heard and Chambers himself was on the stand reciting his life story.

In his opening statement Lloyd Paul Stryker, attorney for Hiss, denounced Chambers as a "moral leper." In addition, he called him a 'thief, a liar and a blasphemer."

Stryker also revealed the defense had found a missing typewriter for which 30 FBI agents had searched for months.



The prosecution had wanted it badly; Stryker implied that as evidence it would be favorable to Hiss.

The present charges grew out of melodramatic testimony given by Chambers last Summer to the Un-American Activities Committee. He is being sued by Hiss for $75,000 damages on slander charges.

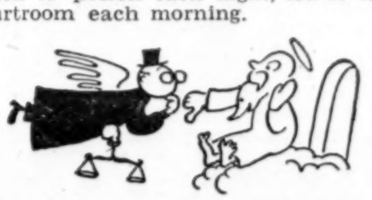
3 of 11 jailed

JOHN GATES, editor of the **Daily Worker**, completed his testimony in defense of himself and his 10 co-defendants at the trial of the Communists. Documents which the defense introduced to refute the government charge that the party advocated force and violence were ruled out. Judge Harold R. Medina said they were "self-serving declarations by the defense."

On Thursday Federal Attorney F. X. McGohey opened his cross-examination. He asked Gates to detail the precise functions of his co-defendants and name other Communist officials who are not involved in the trial.

CONTEMPT OF COURT. Gates reluctantly agreed to testify about the functions of those on trial with him. But he refused to testify about other Communists.

On Friday Judge Medina ruled Gates in contempt of the court and sentenced him to jail for 30 days. Other defendants protested. Medina ordered Gus Hall remanded without bail for the duration of the trial; Henry Winston was to be placed in the custody of the county marshall. The three would be taken to prison each night, led to the courtroom each morning.



Too black

THE President of the U.S. honored Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, who brought peace to the Middle East, with a statement of appreciation. UN members gave him respect and high praise. In New York he was given an official welcome and a testimonial dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria.

But in the nation's capital Dr. Bunche, a Negro, was refused permission to address a small group of Middle East experts in a private room of the Wardman Park Hotel. When the Hotel management learned that Dr. Bunche is a Negro, they canceled the reservation made for the room and returned the money deposited.

Jimcrow in Washington is reported to be the reason Dr. Bunche recently refused a post in the State Dept., highest post ever offered a Negro in government.

Max Werner

The French don't want to get it in the neck

THE arms-to-Europe bill is based on a gigantic misunderstanding: the belief that France is willing and ready to serve as the cornerstone of Western land defense, despite desperately frank testimony to the contrary from the leading French military experts.

The French have joined the Western Union with skepticism, the Atlantic Pact with apprehensions. They decline the honor of providing the bulk of land troops while Britain provides sea power and tactical aviation and the U. S. delivers war material, strategic bombing and super weapons.

Gen. Gerardot has stated in unmistakable terms the complete change in French military doctrine: that France has had enough of defeats and victories in land wars, that victory and land defense have become too expensive a business, and that **France is militarily and politically unable ever again to become the land arm of a coalition.**

BLED WHITE. In his article in **Revue de Defense Nationale** Gen. Gerardot enumerates the reasons: "For a country like France, with a weak population and a weak birthrate, land victory has become a fraud. This is a policy France cannot allow herself any longer."

He draws the conclusion: "One should not sacrifice the French population, already bled white, and relieve the war burden of our allies by taking charge of the land war which is most expensive in human lives."

Having neither atomic bomb nor military aviation of importance, the French generals count either on U.S. air-atomic power or on the reconstruction of French aviation.

DECEPTIVE POLITENESS. In the pages of the leading French military review Colonel du Jonchay even suggests the **further reduction** of the size of the French Army and of the term of service.

It may be that at the Atlantic Pact military conferences the French delegates, with their traditional politeness and interest in the Marshall Plan, may make us believe that they believe our conviction that France can defend herself. But among themselves, in their military discussions, they bluntly state military facts contrary to these expectations.

There is one school of thought in France that only the U. S. can defend France; there is another school of thought that even the U. S. could not defend France. But there is no school of thought there that the French Army could defend French soil.

Under these circumstances — what is the military use of the arms-to-Europe policy?

EAST-WEST

Paris: trade winds

OUTSIDE the iron gates of the palace housing the Big Four Conference in Paris, photographers and newsreel men lounged all week, cameras trained on the door, waiting for the ministers to emerge. The press was barred from the palace grounds, the public from the street. In the press corps the mood was cynical.

After two weeks' discussion there was no evidence that the western powers wanted any political settlement in Germany. Scripps-Howard correspondent Ludwell Denny reported:

"If the Kremlin had been ready to compromise on big issues — and some officials here think so — it never had a chance. The Allied proposal left no middle ground. It called for complete Soviet surrender. And Mr. Vishinsky has refused that, as the Western Powers expected."

NOT A LINE FLUFFED. When he demanded that Vishinsky accept the Bonn Constitution and relinquish the veto, Sec. Acheson in effect told Russia—which contributed more than all other powers combined to the defeat of Hitler—to get out of Germany.

Acheson's adherence to prepared-in-advance texts sometimes became em-

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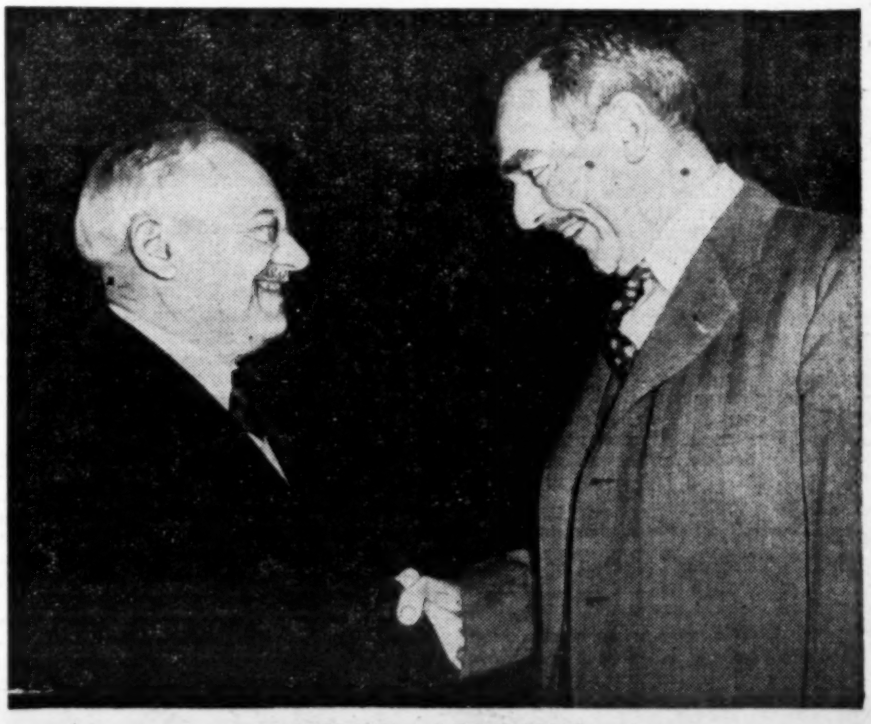


ACHESON and VISHINSKY
This was before they sat down

Continued from preceding page

barrassing. When Vishinsky suggested a modification of Russia's stand on use of the veto in Berlin, Acheson replied as if Vishinsky had refused to compromise. "The American spokesmen's version of the meeting," the **N. Y. Times** reported, "did not mention [Vishinsky's] qualifying sentences cited by the French and Russians." At the week-end, the Big Four went into secret session to discuss Acheson's ideas on four-power government of Berlin.

Behind the front of unrealistic political demands, signs were multiplying that on the economic level U. S. policy is being modified by economic facts. In Toronto, Secretary of Commerce Sawyer departed from a prepared address to suggest that the U. S. economic blockade of Eastern Europe is not "rigid" and may be relaxed.

U. S. VS. U. S. By mid-week the U. S. delegation was briefing reporters in Paris on the likelihood of a limited economic agreement to facilitate movement of goods across the Oder. Anxious above all to avoid the appearance of retreat, officials talked of allegedly desperate economic conditions in Eastern Europe. Acheson sneered at Vishinsky's account of economic recovery in the East Zone, claiming it would be an economic liability if united with the West.

At the same time U. S. economic intelligence reports were confirming the economic stability and progress of East Germany. And a report published by the Joint Anglo-American Committee on Economic Trends bluntly warned that West Germany faces a serious economic slump, with "unemployment increases larger than ever experienced before."

In New York, columnist Walter Lippmann bluntly criticized the "complacency and self satisfaction" of press reports from Paris. "The storm sig-

nals of impending trouble in the world economy," he wrote, "are now unmistakeable, and may cost the West its gains of the past three years."

GERMANY

Stars in the East

In Berlin, 2,000 recently-elected delegates to the East Zone People's Congress jammed into the flower-decked Opera hall to lay plans for an all-German government. In a two-day session the Congress adopted a constitution with one dissenting vote, and elected a 329-member Council including Gerhart Eisler.

The Congress met in a city tied up by the political strike of west-sector railroad workers. The Soviet railway administration offered to meet the demand for wage payments — the ostensible cause of the strike — to the extent of 60% (the ratio given to its civil servants by the west-sector city administration). On Thursday strikers rejected the offer by 13,477 votes to 398.

In Frankfurt, U. S. Zone, where "national" elections for the Bonn Republic were announced for Aug. 14, an effort was made to still criticism of the sabotage of decartelization, revealed in the recent Ferguson report. The stock of one of the 51 I. G. Farben plants in the U. S. Zone, it was announced, would soon be offered for sale.

Eisler goes home

GERHART EISLER was in Germany to take up a career at the University of Leipzig as a teacher. Last week he slipped out of London on a Czech airline.

He had avoided other airlines because they alighted too near U.S. installations. At Prague Eisler told the press that "U.S. reaction is kind only to Ilse Koch. . . . Had I been a Gestapo general they would have sent me back by plane." He said he had never been a member, let alone leader, of the U.S. Communist Party.

He referred to Attorney General Tom Clark as "the biggest fool in America." In Washington Clark paraphrased it thus: "I am the dumbest man in the country." Then he announced that he

would not try to recapture Eisler. From Prague Eisler quipped: "It is very nice of him that he deosn't do what he cannot do."

DEPORT-WORTHY. Criticism of Clark came even from the arch-Republican **Oregon Statesman.** The paper said the country's attempts to take Eisler from the Polish ship Batory "gives affront to Poland as a sovereign power. . . . Anyway what do we want with him back in the U.S.A.? His crimes were minor, chiefly political; and he was already under orders for deportation."

Eisler's wife Hilde, meanwhile, was waiting to join her husband. The Dept. of Immigration ruled she is deportable. It is expected that she will leave the U.S. in about two weeks.

The appeal

Though his freedom is assured, Gerhart Eisler's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court continued to remain one of the nation's most important test cases on civil liberties. The court is considering his appeal from a conviction for contempt of Congress. He insisted on reading a statement before taking an oath and answering questions as to his political affiliations put to him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Others have refused such questions, and it is generally believed that the court's ruling on Eisler may decide the fate of all.

Last week the government urged the court to dismiss the appeal since Eisler was now beyond its jurisdiction. Attorneys for the Civil Rights Congress held that the appeal must still be considered. One justice told CRC that to continue the matter would be "shadow boxing." The eight others emphatically opposed that view, but the court held the matter over for further deliberation.

Crew of the Canadian steamer Tridale, on strike in port at Wellington in sympathy with striking Canadian East Coast ships. Crew members say they will not take the ship out to sea.

CANADA

Seamen's strike

BEFORE the crew of the 9,000-ton Canadian liner Beaverbrae walked off the boat at the Royal Albert docks in London, they chalked on the vessel's sides: "We shall return." The drivers of London's lorries loaded their luggage and took it to lodgings in Stepney, but rejected offers of payment. British workers chipped in to feed and lodge them. Dockers and tugboat men assured them the Beaverbrae would not sail until its crew returned.

Other Canadian seamen left their ships to get a similar welcome. There are 320 now in British ports.

THEY GET THEIR MEN. The Canadian Seaman's Union is affiliated with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, linked with the American Federation of Labor. Nine weeks ago the union asked for a 15% wage rise. The companies, including the government-owned Canadian National Steamship Lines, ordered a drastic wage cut instead. The union struck. Seven thousand strong, their lines still hold. Ninety ships are tied up.

Members of the AFL Seafarers' International Union were brought in from the U.S. to break the strike. At St. Johns, N. B., hundreds of Canadian mounties charged pickets, clubbed 20 and arrested 61. They brought the SIU men past the picket lines.

At Long Beach, Calif., the crew of the S.S. Argo John walked out. SIU men walked on. When the ship docked at

Continued on following page

The inside story

How the Bonn constitution was forced on the Germans

By Emil Carlebach

FRANKFURT

ON July 1, 1948, U.S. Military Governor Gen. Clay ordered the 11 Minister-Presidents to draw up a constitution for Western Germany, to be "ratified in each Land (province) by popular referendum." When the constitution was finally passed at Bonn on May 8, 1949, it was hailed by the Anglo-American Control Commission here as the "Big Stick for the Foreign Ministers Conference" in Paris.

What happened during the ten intervening months shows just how much the constitution represents the opinion of the German people.

On three occasions the constitution-drafting committee submitted drafts to the Anglo-American generals. They were torn up because they did not meet the specifications as a cold war Big Stick.

THE PEOPLE, NO. Then, just before the announcement of the Jessup-Malik talks at Lake Success, Gen. Clay summoned a delegation of Bonn parliament members and told them to produce the required constitution by midnight. The Germans were not allowed to leave the room (in the I. G. Farben headquarters, appropriately enough) even for a consultation. The generals posted themselves outside the conference room, in the corridor, to show they would stand for no further delay.

The draft was completed that night; just 18 days later it was adopted at Bonn. The Military Governors had decided that ratification of the constitution by the German people wasn't necessary after all.

Both in eastern and western Germany the tide of protest against a separate Western State was rising. Inhabitants of war-wrecked cities know what it means when Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Christian Democrat and protege of U.S. political adviser Robert Murphy, talks of Germany's part in the Atlantic Pact; and when August Martin Euler, "Free Democratic Party" leader, publicly demands a strong West Germany army.

CRACKDOWN. The German people's idea that they don't want their land to be a battlefield again is resented by Military Government and combatted as subversive. Thus AMG has banned all meetings of the "Nauheim Circle" of German intellectuals headed by Christian Democrat Prof. Ulrich Noack, which wants agreement with Russia, a global peace treaty with Germany and withdrawal of all occupation forces.

In their zone the British dispersed a joint East-West politicians' meeting at Hanover, and jailed Communist Party chairman Max Reimann for describing as "quislings" Germans who obey foreign orders tending to bring Germany into a war bloc. At Koblenz the French

KONRAD ADENAUER

forbade the meeting of the non-partisan Union of Nazi Victims.

When one-third of East Zone voters opposed the German People's Council in the recent elections, the props were knocked from under the contention that the elections were rigged. Western policy-makers suffered further loss of face when both the People's Council and the Bonn government chose as emblem the black-red-gold flag of the former German Republic.

That flag had been specifically outlawed by AMG. As late as last March, anyone caught hoisting the black-red-gold was arrested and kept for weeks in an American military prison.

Exclusive from Shanghai

The city's people are working—and dancing in the streets

By Peter Townsend

SHANGHAI (By cable)

"I NEVER thought," said an Old China Hand—the type accustomed to thinking the people of this country "amiable but impossible"—"that the Chinese had so much dignity."

He was watching the People's Army march through the streets of the world's fourth-largest city. Praise is almost universal for the efficiency with which the take-over was effected, for the swift forestalling of Nationalist destruction plans, for the restrained use of firearms within city limits, and for the discipline of the troops.

Five days after the city's liberation, the last uniforms and tin helmets were being swept up from the muddy roads where surrendering Nationalists threw them. Shanghai has been given the chance to show its amazing resilience. In the streets there is singing and dancing, and posters are everywhere: WELCOME TO LIBERATION—BUILD UP OUR INDUSTRY—FIGHT ON TO CANTON. The people say: "Now we can work."

DANCING BACK. One by one workers who were part of the underground have returned to the benches and machines they helped to protect. Postal workers who led the incoming People's Army through tortuous streets of the old Chinese city are back on their beats. Busmen who drove liberation troops to the front are back on civilian runs. Students who toured Shanghai in trucks throwing leaflets danced the Yangko on street corners and returned to their classrooms.

Now there is another battle for Shanghai—a battle to conquer the city's hold on China, to break its dictatorship over the country's economy and make it an arsenal for trade and industry for China's common man.

Shanghai's citizens are anxious to make sure that victory will be achieved quickly.

OUR DAILY RICE. Power consumption already has risen more than 30% over the lowest level on May 25, as the wheels of production turn again. Public utilities are back almost to normal. Dockyard workers are beginning to salvage vessels sunk by the retreating Nationalists. Trains of the Shanghai-Nanking railway are running on schedule.

Shops have reopened; banks are circulating new People's currency; post offices are selling new People's stamps; the first free trade unions are holding their inaugural meetings.

More immediately, the man in the street feels the benefits of liberation through his pocket. Cadres and the army had made provision for Shanghai's stomach just as for Shanghai's safety. Rice from Wusih was stockpiled, coal in the north was earmarked to bring Shanghai through the crisis. When the first supplies reached the city the effect was immediate. The price of rice, sensitive indicator of improving conditions, fell heavily. Other foodstuffs followed, and the silver dollar which a week ago bought only just over one pound of pork today buys more than two.

THE NEW WAY. Optimism invaded even the gloom of the foreign firms. "They're so courteous," said a foreign business man. "They're so disciplined," said another. A third said, "It seems they want to do trade," as the first foreign vessels since liberation were steaming toward Shanghai.

Gradually the memory of another regime, a millstone around the neck of freedom, is being effaced. Rain washed away many Kuomintang posters. The people have taken down the rest.

Nothing perhaps can efface the memory of the corpses of executed students and workers in the wake of the broken Kuomintang, the burned villages, the destroyed naval docks. But between today and a week ago there is a wide and growing gap—a gap between the old dead era and the new one.

Continued from preceding page

Seattle, the Canadian seamen were there with a picket line. U.S. immigration officials took a hand and arrested the pickets. But longshoremen all along the west coast would not load ships manned by the strikebreaking SIU.

CSU officials in Montreal made public two affidavits from former SIU officials, accusing the shipping companies, U.S. and Canadian labor officials of

organizing and "arming of hired thugs with instructions to shoot CSU members."

At Cleveland the AFL Executive Council tried to persuade officials of the Canadian Central Trades and Labor Council to recognize the SIU instead of the CSU. Canadians refused, but agreed to an AFL demand to eliminate "communist infiltration" in Canadian labor.

Miners' strike

Police brutality has also marked the three-months-old strike of 5,000 French Canadian miners against the American-owned Johns-Manville Co. in Asbestos, Quebec, where 80% of the world's asbestos is produced. The miners, members of the Catholic Syndicates Federation, struck when refused a 15% wage increase and protection against fatal silicosis. Quebec's Premier Maurice Duplessis, whose near-fascist National Union Party controls the province, sent hundreds of police to Asbestos to help the company import scabs. For one whole day strikers kept the scabs out by erecting roadblocks around the town.

Then the police, armed with sub machine guns, automatics, carbines, and tear gas, launched a mass assault, invaded the homes of strikers, hunted them down in a church, beat them and threw them into jail. This was the first case in French Canada of public desecration of a church. Church authorities ordered strike collections taken in all churches until further notice.

Elections June 29

The inference seemed to be that the Church was shifting its support from Duplessis to the Liberal Party, which controls the Federal government. National elections will be held June 29. Duplessis has allied himself with the Conservative Party of Col. George Drew of Ontario against the Liberals. The Liberal Party, which has controlled the government since the early '30's, has tried to mend its fences by reducing taxes and adding Newfoundland to Canada, rushing family allowances there to win the vote.

The three main parties—Liberals, Conservatives, and the liberal Cooperative Commonwealth Federation—support the Atlantic Pact, attack the Soviet Union and communism, and are united against labor. The Labor Progressive party is the only party supporting labor, which is becoming restive in the face of a 5% rise in the cost of living, lagging wages and unemployment which has grown 25% in one year. The Liberal Party is expected to retain control of Parliament.

SOUTH AMERICA

Strike in Bolivia

"THE development of mining is having a marked effect upon the economic status of the Aymara and Quechua Indians. . . ." **Encyclopedia Britannica.**

For some that effect was fatal last week. The Aymaras and Quechuas of Bolivia who produce one quarter of the world's tin supply (and are among the most brazenly exploited people in the world) went on strike one day after the leader of their union, Juan Lechin, had been exiled to Chile. Four other union leaders had been arrested.

Troops are always on hand at the mines, mainly owned by British and U.S. companies. They moved in swiftly to protect the property from the miners.

The miners dug in inside their shacks, keeping with them a number of U.S., Bolivian and Argentine engineers. (News reports said six or seven were U.S. citizens.)

THE TOLL IS HIGH. An army officer called upon them to surrender. He was blown up by a home-made stick of dynamite. The troops fired. The miners returned the fire. When the miners retreated they left behind dead miners, dead soldiers and two dead U.S. engineers. Accurate statistics were hard to come by. Estimates ranged from 33 to 200 dead. Hundreds more were in hospitals and jails.

The strike spread to other mining communities and in many places mining officials were held as hostages to stall off the fierce attack of the troops.

As the week wore on workers on railroads, in textile factories, glass and furniture factories walked out.

It was said that Bolivian troops had restored order, but Acting President Mamerto Urriolagoitia called to the colors all those from 19 to 50. (President Enrique Hertzog stayed away on sick leave.)

Two transport planes were sent from the Canal Zone to evacuate U.S. citizens. At the week-end Bolivia had become unsafe for Yanquis.

BRITAIN

Go-slow Whitsun

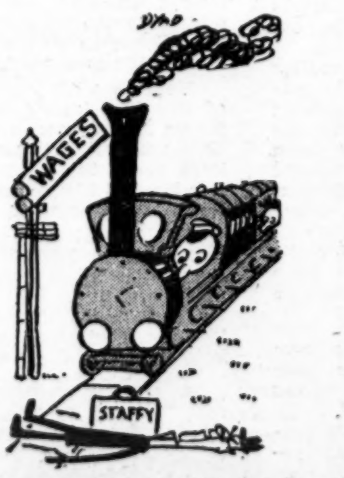
IN partly-socialized England, a government Railway Executive runs the railroads. Plans of hundreds of thousands of British families to "go away for Whitsun," one of the great traditional holiday week-ends, were threatened by the railwaymen's spreading "go-slow" movement.

For the Labor Party leaders gathering at Blackpool—the Atlantic City of north England—for their annual conference, this was the biggest among many headaches. (Others: the party left-wingers' revolt; mass irritation at soaring living costs and corporation profits since the recent Cripps budget). A clash with the powerful National Union of Railwaymen over the wage freeze (many railwaymen are frozen at under $20 a week) has been brewing for 18 months.

When NUR's claim for a $2 weekly raise went to arbitration court it was turned down flatly. A union delegate conference decided to make a new try for the raise, failing which the "go-slow" would come on the agenda. The Railway Executive first refused to discuss the new claim, then agreed to take it up on Friday, the eve of the conference.

WAITING, WATCHING. The government must now decide (cabled GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer) whether nationalized industry shall be the first to abandon the wage freeze, or to risk head-on clash with a major union affiliated with the Labor Party.

Unions representing all sections of the civil service, as well as privately-owned industry, were waiting to put in wage claims and watching with interest the fate of the railway workers. No union can indefinitely back the freeze and retain its rank and file.



Daily Worker, London

"Come orf it, Staffy boy. Our brakes are lousy."

THE WAR IN CHINA

China builds

FROM all over the new China reports were the same: the people were forgetting the long plague of war, rolling up their sleeves and getting down to the job of building a people's democracy on the road to socialism.

Soviet ambassador N. V. Roschin, who with elaborate punctilio had followed the Chiang government to its last resting place in Canton, flew to Paris to "consult" with Vishinsky. He had been the only ambassador in Canton. The rest of the city's population waited for the mopping-up to reach them. Nationalist government officials were as ever poised for flight.

"IT'S THEIR MONEY." Headed for Washington to report to ECA chief Paul Hoffman, former San Francisco mayor Roger D. Lapham—Hoffman's Man Friday for China—stopped off in his home town with a weary expression. His problems were the disposition of 30 ECA men still holding down his office in Canton, and how to spend $54,000,000 of ECA money before the rest of China became liberated and therefore ineligible.

Reporters wanted to know whether anyone was doing business with the Communists in China.

"I noticed a disposition on the part of American and British businessmen to do business with the Reds," sighed Lapham. "I see no reason why they shouldn't. It's their money."

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Bundles of sample issues of the GUARDIAN are available at no cost. If you want sample write to Business Dept., National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

Once it was the Marx Bros.

But now, it's Marxist Molly

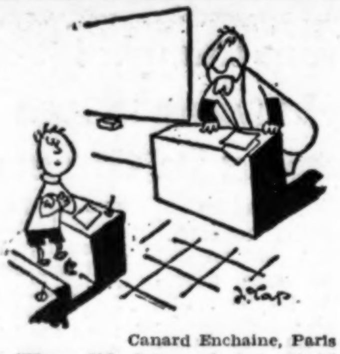
(Special to the GUARDIAN)

HOLLYWOOD

HOLLYWOOD producers are dizzier than ever trying to figure out how to make money and show their "loyalty" too.

With box office dollars not so plentiful, the producers are haunted by the necessity for films to be at least technically literate to attract an audience. At the same time Billy Wilkerson, sedition-scenting editor of the **Hollywood Reporter,** and the Motion Picture Alliance for Preservation of American Ideals nag unceasingly for production of more turkeys like the all-time box-office flop **The Iron Curtain.**

WHITE REDS & REDHEADS. Republic Pictures responded by changing the name of the current production **Fathoms Deep** to **The Red Menace.** This is a story written in seven days by two "western" writers, about an ex-GI who is seduced by Marxist Molly, an ultra-red redhead, and finally is chased by the FBI through two reels with a bolshevik brunette, Nina Petrovka, until both see the error of their ways and turn all-American. At the end the woman narrator in the picture is piquantly revealed to be the Statue of Liberty in person.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"How did Joan of Arc die?" "She was massacred in an American film!"

RKO is said to have paid $50,000 for the script of **I Married a Communist.** Completion of this opus, about a white red who married a colored red, has been delayed because the company had trouble finding directors or stars prepared to touch it with a barge-pole.

COYNESS EPIDEMIC. A third red expose, **Confessions of an American Communist,** has met similar trouble: nobody seems to want either to direct it or play in it. Even director Sam Wood, one of the most earnest loyalists of the MPAFPAI, turned it down after reading the script. Based on a **Life** magazine story, it tells of a Wall Street man's son who gets mixed up with the bolshies at college. The lad sees his error after a chat with the old man, but the reds secretly go on paying his dues for him through the years, and expose him dramatically as a red when the time is ripe, thus throwing Wall St. into a panic.

Big Hollywood names may be expected to show continued shyness when invited into these celluloid goulashes.

The problem remains: anti-red propaganda and happy audiences don't seem to go together.

It's the producers' problem. Let them worry about it; you can always go fishing.

The new films

Reviewed by
Harold Salemson

FLAMINGO ROAD: Joan Crawford as the familiar girl who makes good the hard way. You've seen it all before. Miss Crawford is her usual effective self. Take it or leave it.

QUARTET (British): Four unrelated Somerset Maugham short stories are made into a series of episodes which comprise enjoyable entertainment, full of British understatement and good taste. Very acceptable.

MA AND PA KETTLE: The yokels of **The Egg and I** return to the screen in a pretty low comedy. If you must see it, don't blame us.

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR: Not a great film, but a tense and worthwhile courtroom drama with real insight into the social origins of crime. Yes, see it.

THE FAN: Modernized version of Oscar Wilde's **Lady Windermere's Fan,** which should have been left to gather dust on the library shelves. Skip it.

THE WINDOW: Pure suspense. Story of a little boy who made up so many wild tales that no one would believe him when he actually witnessed a murder. Tense and exciting. Acceptable.

HOMICIDE: Routine little murder melodrama without big names or production. But it's not the worst you've seen, if you like whodunits.

LADIES OF THE CHORUS: Burlesque is allegedly the background of this society drama you've seen a million times. Skip it.

Books for progressives

Journey of Albert Maltz

By Ralph Peterson

BY SHELVING the movie of Albert Maltz's **Journey of Simon McKeever** after paying $35,000 for the rights, Warner Bros. have drawn national attention to the book for which progressives can be grateful. Maltz, one of the Hollywood Ten now suing the Hollywood giants for over $8,000,000 on the ground that blacklisting of the Ten's work is in restraint of trade, has written an intensely moving, warm and wonderful picture of one of the most abused by-products of our way of life: the old age pensioner.

MALTZ

Simon McKeever is familiar to all Americans in this century. A 74-year-old working man, crippled by arthritis, his value to society has been pegged at $55 a month, all of which is turned over to Tom (The Booger) Kinney and his wife, who run a poor excuse for a rest home. Other aged victims pay a like tribute.

All McKeever and his friends get for the $55 are broken beds, lousy food, and a little bad tobacco—made of, he's quite sure, manure and "floorsweepin's."

PITY ON THE ROAD. Then, on a trip to town to spend a quarter he had found (for some good tobacco), Simon McKeever runs across a woman who recognizes his ailment at sight. She tells him effusively about a woman doctor in Glendale, California—400 miles away—who can "cure him . . . absolute."

Simon is "like a man who wants to get out of prison into the living world . . . where there's people . . . an' sky . . . an' the good life." With a long, useful, and underpaid life behind him, he undertakes a fantastic hitchhike odyssey to Glendale. He finds that "the world is made up mostly of good people." And he pities others—like psychotic Harold, who steals his last 48 cents and defends the felony with an attack on the "wuthlessness" of humanity. He observes: "There's an awful lot of dying in most people's living."

THE FADED DREAM. On the silent, lonely California highways, Simon stands alone and unafraid, jerking an arthritic thumb at the luxurious cars that speed by. He lives his life over again and reflects that "perhaps a man only takes to his grave those things that are too private to belong to someone else. Like the kiss of his own woman."

He makes his journey through the wreckage of the American dream, correctly assesses the forces of evil, uncannily fingers the hypocrisies that made it a failure. He dreams of doing a book about the common man, synthesizing the thinking of himself and men like Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Havelock Ellis.

You'll meet tears and genuinely moving moments in **The Journey of Simon McKeever.** Even as a sociological document, the book has importance—for it makes terribly clear the force that made Townsend a rallying point in the 'thirties, and explains the success of so many faddists and fakers among the aged.

The shocking climax of McKeever's journey will sear the hearts of all the aged who read it, and all who have old folks dependent on the whims of the American system. This is not because it's unusual, but because it is a normal climax. As a movie, it could change our time.

THE JOURNEY OF SIMON McKEEVER. By Albert Maltz. Little, Brown. 250 pp. $2.75.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

The Dollar Stretcher this week takes up products tested by Consumers Union and discussed in the CU publication, "Consumers Reports," 38 E. First St., New York 3, N.Y.

Women's slips

LABORATORY TESTS on 99 types and styles of woven and knitted slips sold under 29 different brand names showed great differences in durability and ability to withstand laundering. Woven slips made of nylon-and-rayon satin were judged to have greatest durability.

Tailored slips are less costly and usually outwear comparable slips trimmed with net or lace. Knitted slips need no ironing (some women feel this is also true of nylon woven slips). Try on a slip for fit before deciding to keep it. Fit should be comfortable over the hips without being so full as to bunch or so snug as to bind when sitting. Examine seams and strap attachmen in the particular style under consideration.

Among woven nylon-and-rayon slips found Acceptable by CU were Radelle ($6.95 to $7.95); Barbizon ($4.50 to $5); Ward's Cat. No. 1123 ($4.98 plus postage).

Rice

THE WISE HOUSEWIFE is learning not to ask her grocer just for "a box of rice" but to differentiate between various types—long, short and round grain, brown and white, and the specially processed rices. While there are six grades for white and processed rices, tests showed that the most expensive Grade I brands cost only a cent or two more per pound than the lowest grade rices purchased.

Brown rice is superior in nutritional value, but for a combination of nutritional value, eye appeal and excellent cooking qualities, the processed rices, known as "converted" or "malekized," rate high. Conversion results in a saving of substantial quantities of vitamins and minerals ordinarily lost in milling.

Acceptable Grade I processed rices, according to CU, include Comet Longrain Vitafield 18c (12 oz.); Uncle Ben's Long-Grain "Converted" 24c (1 lb.); Ehler's Converted White Giant Long Grain 29c (1 lb.). The best unprocessed brown rices include Comet Longrain Natural Brown 15c (12 oz.); River Brand Natural Brown 15c (12 oz.).

Flower seeds

GOOD FLOWER SEED is much harder to find in packets than good vegetable seed. Experienced gardeners seldom buy flower seed "mixtures" because many of them are unsatisfactory in some way. Germination is apt to be low because such mixtures are often catch-alls for old, left-over seed. The following sources of annual flower seed were rated Very Good: Ferry Morse Seed Co., Detroit; Joseph Harris Co., Rochester, N.Y.; Hart & Vick Inc., Rochester, N.Y.; Robson Seed Farms, Hall, N.Y.

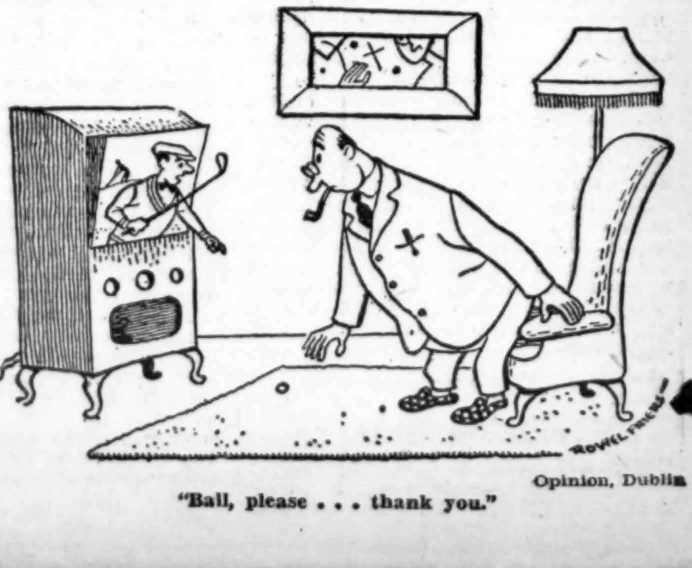
About those FM tuner kits

BERKELEY, CALIF.

John Norton, in your May 16 Dollar Stretcher column, got across a sly piece of kicking the consumer in the teeth a la "Business" as we usually see in the slick paper magazine ads. The FM tuner kit he mentions contains the Hazeltine "fremodyne" circuit. This is the circuit that was viewed with "alarm" by the editor of Electronics, Donald G. Fink, in his January, 1948 Cross Talk (editorial) page.

The listening quality of programs received on the "fremodyne" set was noticeably poorer than that of of the same material being broadcast also on AM and received on an ordinary AM set. For my money the main advantage of FM is the type of program and the higher audio quality standard in this type of broadcasting. Electronics also found that it was impossible for two of these sets to be used within 100 feet of each other if tuned to the same station. The energy radiated at the same frequency being received blocks other receivers out of operation within that distance. One hundred twenty-five manufacturers were licensed to produce this circuit in 1948; so consumer beware.

Russell L. Linton Jr.



Opinion, Dublin

"Ball, please . . . thank you."

Radio report

On Sunday you can get an education

By John Norton

TWO of radio's best informational programs are heard Sundays on CBS: **Invitation to Learning** at 12 noon (EDT) and **People's Platform** at 12:30.

On **Invitation to Learning,** CBS's educational director, Lyman Bryson, and two guests each week discuss a great thinker or a great book. The topics cover art, philosophy, religion and politics. During the last few weeks the subjects have included Tolstoy's theories of art, St. Theresa's autobiography and Edmund Burke's "Reflections on the Sublime and the Beautiful."

The roundtable talk is unrehearsed and the scholars are frequently witty and perceptive. But too often they are academic, superficial, petty.

The basic drawback is that guests represent limited points of view. Bryson usually calls on a few regulars, such as Irwin Edman and John Mason Brown. Other noted writers and speakers take part, but the producer avoids progressive and radical thinkers.

In the discussion of Tolstoy, the great novelist was criticized for his theories of art: that the purpose of art is to educate people, that the moral lesson of a work is its important ingredient. This listener felt that Tolstoy's art-as-propaganda views were rejected without full understanding or explanation.

FINE REFEREE. On **People's Platform,** opposing points of view on current issues are debated by two or three individuals, with Dwight Cooke as moderator. Cooke is an excellent referee, preventing one side from monopolizing the conversation, drawing the debaters back to central issues, seeing that all questions are answered. Topics are timely and important, last month's roster including farm aid, rent control, Far Eastern policy and lifting the Berlin blockade.

For the most part, the truth becomes evident to politically-tutored listeners. But here, again, the participants do not represent all significant shades of opinion.

TAKE A HAND. The debate on the blockade, for instance, presented three rightist or center speakers, the most liberal being Max Lerner. Because the purpose was to learn the meaning of the Soviet move, it would have been wise for Cooke to have included someone opposed to the Atlantic Pact and official State Department policy.

Tune in to **Invitation to Learning** and **People's Platform.** They are stimulating and provoking. And perhaps they'll stimulate you to write CBS, 485 Madison Av., N.Y.C., and tell them to include a more representative cross-section on these forum programs. Then these good programs may become better than good.

". . . And so tonight the author chalks up another victory in defense of his new novel on your own book program 'The Author REALLY Meets the Critic.'"

Report to readers

We're big shots at the bank these days

MEMORIAL Day weekend, 1949, will linger long in the memories of us here at the GUARDIAN.

On that weekend, the readers of this paper sat down, took pen in hand, or pencils, typewriters and ballpoints, and forwarded to us a grand total of 2,211 new subscribers.

That was the content of the stacks of mail that greeted us here last Tuesday morning, May 31. The figure brings the total new readers added during May—the first month of our lowered price—to more than 8,000, instead of the 7,500 we prophesied in this column last week.

In addition, our newsstand sales have gone up a few thousand in New York and there has been an encouraging upturn in bundle orders going out to bookshops and stands throughout the country. Most of these doubled their orders when the price change came along.

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ONE pleasing result of the GUARDIAN's new, whopping successes in the field of circulation is the manner in which we are again greeted at our bank.

Our bank is run by a trade union—Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It maintains union conditions top to bottom, even union-made checkbooks and banknote paper—which is why we bank there.

But banks is banks (as Ellis Parker Butler once said about guinea pigs) and the Amalgamated's Scrooge and Marley (or is it Murray?) are just as exacting about lagging balances, overdrafts and stuff as Morgan and Rockefeller. More so, we sometimes think.

Actually, the only external feature distinguishing our bank from Morgan's for example, is that ours faces on Manhattan's Union Square, the traditional gathering place of New York's soapbox orators.

Late last Tuesday afternoon we trooped up to our bank with our handsome Memorial Day weekend deposit, no longer feeling tremulous about sticking our heads in the door. After exchanging the usual pleasantries between depositor and banker, we strolled out in the evening sun of Union Square to hear the latest soapbox arguments.

Lo and behold, no arguments!

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INSTEAD, a brass band occupied the bandstand, courtesy of Local 802, American Federation of Musicians, James C. Petrillo, president.

The program was O.K. for Central Park, perhaps, but in Union Square it seemed certainly politically off-key. There was not even a whisper of Solidarity Forever. First there was a cluster of Sousa marches; then something that sounded suspiciously like the old Austrian imperial anthem. Finally, of all things, they played the Whiffenpoof Song, a little number (as the announcer helpfully explained) made famous by Rudy Vallee.

At this point we stole off into the quiet of the sidestreets. With the Whiffenpoofs in command of Union Square, a good old-fashioned soap boxer is left with hardly a spot to hiss in.

Except, of course, the columns of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, now $1 for 40 weeks, five cents on your newsstand.

Yours for a million soap-boxing subscribers.

John T. McManus

Pots and pocketbooks

Salad days and salad dressings

By Charlotte Parks

SHAKESPEARE speaks of "my salad days, when I was young in judgement." More and more people are learning to respect salads as good food—and not as just a "bowl of grass."

Salad dressings are a real place to save money. They take little time to make and keep well. With the price of salad oils coming down and prepared dressings still at the same old prices, why not try your hand at these?

French Dressing

Place in pint gem jar 1 garlic clove, 2 tbsp. chopped green or red sweet pepper, ½ tsp. salt, 1 tbsp. minced parsley, 1 tsp. honey or ½ tsp. sugar, 1 tbsp. canned tomato soup or ½ tbsp. tomato paste. Then fill up the jar with ⅔ oil to ⅓ vinegar. Stir briskly with a fork. You can make your additions or subtractions to suit taste and pocketbook, but the proportion of oil and vinegar remains. Myself, I like ½ tbsp. of anchovy sauce or a minced anchovy instead of salt. Anchovy really "does something" to a French dressing. Keep tightly covered in refrigerator. Shake well before using.

Parks special

2 tbsp. salad oil or margarine
1 tbsp. flour
1 tsp. salt
¼ tsp. paprika
½ tsp. dry mustard
2 tbsp. sugar
¾ c. water
½ c. vinegar

Mix oil and dry ingredients together, add water and cook till proper thickness, stirring constantly. Add vinegar last, stirring in slowly. Half and half of this dressing mixed with Chili sauce makes an excellent Russian dressing.

Health dressing

½ c. salad oil
juice of ½ lemon
1 tsp. honey

And mighty good too, delicate in flavor, especially on fruits served on lettuce leaves. Wonderful on fresh grapefruit segments.

Stir with fork until slightly thickened.

Always save the vinegar from pickles for salads. It is pleasantly mild. Never be stingy about the quality of your vinegar.

The French say: "The vinegar is the soul of a salad."

March of labor

OFF the presses this week is Vol. I No. 1 of **March of Labor,** a national slick-paper, **Time-**size monthly described as "the new voice of progressive labor." Publisher and editor are Maurice Forge, former vice-president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, and John F. Ryan, long time executive vice-president of the Newspaper Guild of N. Y., CIO.

March of Labor's first issue features an article by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.): "The Taft-Hartley Sellout."

Louis Saillant, general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, writes from Paris that the withdrawal of the CIO from WFTU was engineered by the U.S. State Dept.

Editorially, **March of Labor** promises to "serve a program worthy of the progressive traditions of American labor," and to tell "the real story of what is taking place inside labor."

Subscription price is $2 a year; address: March of Labor, 133 W. 44 St., N.Y. 18.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

"One buck for honest news"

The London coke party---revolt in the colonies!

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The dateline on this baffling dispatch from a London correspondent seems to indicate that the man—long a victim of insomnia—has lost the power to distinguish between dream and reality. He has, of course, been fired, but we print his story anyway as a warning to others.)

LONDON, June 4, 1951

INFURIATED Britons last night invaded an American ship, the freighter **200% American** lying at Tilbury Dock, hauled the captain ashore and tried him before a kangaroo court

on the charge of being a Republican, and dumped £18,000 worth of Coca-Cola — the ship's cargo — into the Thames River.

Though painted with woad to disguise themselves as early Picts and Scots, the mob plainly included members of all classes from Billingsgate fish-porters to members of the Leicestershire hunting set. As they went about their lawless work, shouts of "No Coke Without Whisky!" and "British Beer—Not Yankee Pop!" rang through dockland, where thousands cheered.

MILWAUKEE MUSH. The "last straw" apparently responsible for this outrage was yesterday's announcement in Commons by Lord Woolton, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Tory-Labor coalition government, that the amount of Scotch whisky available for British consumption after exports to the U. S. would be reduced to ½ of 1% of production, and that the new super-austerity beer—a yellow-tinged beverage made with synthetic flavoring from Milwaukee, which an American commission declared palatable—would be rationed at the rate of one imperial gallon per head per annum.

While mob rule prevailed at the docks, another crowd demonstrated outside Prime Minister Bevin's house at 10 Downing Street, with cries of "Go on back to Washington!" and "Down with King Harry!"

At the head of the demonstrators (among whom I noticed several peers of the realm, including Lord Baldwin who once lived at No. 10 himself) was Konni Zilliacus, former Labor MP escaped from the Hebrides Islands where he was in exile for a treasonable speech about Senator Rankin. As at Tilbury, police efforts to control the situation were half-hearted; many bobbies openly expressed sympathy with the mob, especially when the cry went up: "King George for Merry Socialism!"

GONE FISHIN'. Since early this morning Labor Party and Trades Union leaders have been making continuous radio appeals for loyalty. But reports from all over the country discribe factories, offices and communications centers at which not a single employee has reported for work. Men, women and children marched en masse to football fields carrying banners: "WHY WORK FOR THE BLOODY YANKS!" Dog-race tracks are jammed and tens of thousands have gone fishing. Ominous memories are revived of the British General Strike of 1926, when the entire nation downed tools.

Timing of the nation-wide walkouts immediately following the Tilbury and Downing Street disorders leaves no shadow of doubt, in circles close to Premier Bevin and War Minister Churchill, that the hand of the Kremlin is behind the scenes. But so cleverly has the uprising been camouflaged as a protest against U. S. "rule,"

that it may get out of hand unless U.S. troops — or more conveniently, troops of our democratic ally Germany — can be brought in to restore order. It is uncertain whether the handful of British conscripts available here—practically the whole army is now containing communism in Malaya and Africa—are any more reliable than the police if it comes to a showdown.

VATICAN ON THE POTOMAC. The events of last night and today were not altogether a surprise to diplomatic observers in London, who have been expecting anti-U.S. sentiment to take an ugly turn ever since the demonstrations against Pope Francis I began in the spring. When the Vatican moved to Washington following the red victory at the Italian polls, and former Cardinal Spellman succeeded the late Pius XII, the Roundhead Cavalier movement organized by British royalists quickly became a force to be reckoned with.

Led by Protestant clergy chanting "God Save the King" (i.e., the British king who is thus supported as against "King Harry"), the Roundhead Cavalier processions down Piccadilly have become larger and more vociferous each week-end. Police details have been out 24 hours a day tearing down the "No Popery!" and "Off with his head!" posters plastered everywhere.

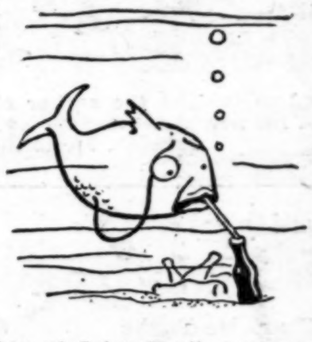
REMEMBER EISLER? The anti-"steak-eaters" (as Americans are called) movement, which has culminated in open defiance, appears to date from the Gerhart Eisler incident in May of 1949.

The British people grumblingly accepted their weekly 22c worth of meat and washed it down—albeit with wry grimaces—with their Coca-Cola ration. Waning as was their acceptance of government assurances that "austerity" was for their own good, they still believed their nation was heading independently for socialism with plenty of roast beef and beer for all.

The Eisler incident had an effect which none could have foreseen. The fact that this obscure man—generally regarded as a political refugee—could be carried bodily off a ship in British waters, by British detectives acting under American orders, galvanized even arch-Tories into active protest in defense of their national pride. While the incident itself was not long remembered, it seemed to open floodgates of unrest which the coalition government elected in 1950 has striven in vain to close.

GEORGE GETS IT. Complicating the delicate situation which has now developed is the outcropping of anti-British feeling in the U. S. The Mayor of Chicago's re-popularization of Mayor Big Bill Thompson's "Down with King George" slogans of the '30's is not doing anything to ease the tension here. Hearst's and Sen. Rankin's campaign to portray Churchill and Bevin as "Reds," with revived anti-British-monarchist slogans of the pre-1776 period about "redcoats," etc., is reported gaining ground in America.

Well-informed travelers reaching Fleet Street from the Grosvenor Square U. S. Enclave report that the Wrigley Commission recently sent from Washington to spur British



chewing of Juicy Fruit may soon be withdrawn. It is felt here that appeasement could hardly go further and that democracy's best answer would be immediate re-convening of the House Committee on British Un-American Activities—especially now that inquisitorial advisers loaned by our ally Gen. Franco are available.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

Memorial Day Massacre

(Continued from page 1)

own front doorstep, his skull crushed by blackjack blows.

The killers identified themselves as policemen. Other policemen arrived. They found a toy pistol in the house. The killers said Waddell had pointed it at them. They arrested the other men in the house, "for causing a disturbance."

These charges have been dropped. No action has been taken against the police killers.

Just crippled

Other Brooklyn Negroes have lived to tell the tale of cop brutality.

Morris King, ex-GI, was driving home with his brother Percell one evening when a police car forced them to the curb. The cops started to "frisk" Morris. "If you want to frisk me, take me to the police station," Morris said. "Shut up, you black SOB," the policeman shouted, and cracked Morris over the knee with a nightstick. Charged with assault, the brothers were eventually set free, but Morris is crippled for life.

Charles Lee, another war vet, was a service station mechanic. He had an argument with a Brooklyn cop, was yanked off his job, taken to a police station, beaten, booked for assault. The charge was thrown out, but Lee, too, is now a cripple.

Ed Brisbane, war vet, was snoozing in his car while three friends had a snack in an all-night lunch after a dance. The cops hauled him out, clubbed him, dropped him, stomped on him. The fun over, they ordered the four to "get the hell away." The boys went, but brought charges through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Result: whitewash.

Sometimes slow to move (as in the Trenton case), NAACP is now fighting mad over brutality and killing in Brooklyn, U.S.A.

Unreported

Details of another Bedford-Stuyvesant incident last May 23 were not reported by the police.

At Fulton St. and Verona Place a wounded Negro war veteran began a loud argument with a girl friend. Soon the police radio cars arrived, bringing about ten policemen to the scene. They seized the man. A crowd began to gather.

"Don't hit him," someone said. "He was wounded in the war. He has two plates in his head. He gets these spells but he gets over them. Let him go home." The cops held on, dragged the man to a police call box.

Watch and pray

Then the crowd, grown to nearly 500, began to chorus together:

"There'll be no more killings. . . . No more killings!"

They began to close in on the police.

A young woman became their spokesman. The man needed medical care, she said, not beating. "We know what goes on at the Gates Avenue station house. They beat our people to a frazzle.

"Arrest this man if you have to," she said, "but don't you lay a finger on him!"

"There'll be no more killings," the crowd chanted.

When the patrol wagon came, the people followed in taxicabs. They went to the stationhouse but were shooed out. They waited outside. When the man was taken to night court, they went along. A magistrate heard the story, dismissed the charges of disorderly conduct. The man went home in care of his neighbors.

There was no killing that time.

Peace conference

TAKING their cue from the global peace conferences, the citizens of Washington Heights and Inwood sections of New York are holding a Conference for Peace Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, June 7 and 8, at 8:15, at Paramount Mansion, 183rd St. and St. Nicholas Av.

Theodore Rosebury, Columbia professor, and R. A. Resika, prominent in Washington Heights, are co-chairmen of the conference. Among the sponsors are Episcopal Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, Rabbi Irving Baumol, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Louis Rittenberg, Prof. Goodwin Watson and Helen Vazquez. Rev. Amos C. Barstow Murphy is executive director.

Tuesday evening will be devoted to panel discussions. On Wednesday there will be a mass rally.